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Contents

	Page
NATIONAL DEFENSE	
Address by the President	193
Sinking of the S.S. <i>Steel Seafarer</i> in the Red Sea	197
Sinking of the S.S. <i>Sessa</i> southwest of Iceland	199
Sinking of the S.S. <i>Montana</i> west of Iceland	200
Damage to the S.S. <i>Arkansan</i> at Suez	200
Licensing of exports	200
Monthly statistics on traffic in arms, ammunition, etc.	202
EUROPE	
Memorandum of British Government on distribution of lend-lease material	204
AMERICAN REPUBLICS	
Brazil: Anniversary of independence	206
GENERAL	
The Faith and Philosophy of Democratic Govern- ment: Address by Assistant Secretary Berle.	207
CULTURAL RELATIONS	
Music Advisory Committee	211
Physicians from other American republics to study in the United States	212
THE DEPARTMENT	
Appointment of officers	213
THE FOREIGN SERVICE	
Personnel changes	213

[OVER]



Contents—CONTINUED

	Page
TREATY INFORMATION	
Finance: Agreement with Haiti	214
Telecommunications: International Telecommunication Convention	215
REGULATIONS	215

SEP 29 '41

National Defense

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT¹

[Released to the press by the White House September 11]

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that on the morning of September fourth the United States destroyer *Greer*, proceeding in full daylight towards Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying American mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.

She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the *Greer*, followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her.

Our destroyer, at the time, was in waters which the Government of the United States had declared to be waters of self-defense—surrounding outposts of American protection in the Atlantic.

In the north, outposts have been established by us in Iceland, Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland. Through these waters there pass many ships of many flags. They bear food and other supplies to civilians; and they bear matériel of war, for which the people of the United States are spending billions of dollars, and which, by congressional action, they have

declared to be essential for the defense of their own land.

The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a legitimate mission.

If the destroyer was visible to the submarine when the torpedo was fired, then the attack was a deliberate attempt by the Nazis to sink a clearly identified American warship. On the other hand, if the submarine was beneath the surface and, with the aid of its listening devices, fired in the direction of the sound of the American destroyer without even taking the trouble to learn its identity—as the official German communiqué would indicate—then the attack was even more outrageous. For it indicates a policy of indiscriminate violence against any vessel sailing the seas—belligerent or non-belligerent.

This was piracy—legally and morally. It was not the first nor the last act of piracy which the Nazi Government has committed against the American flag in this war. Attack has followed attack.

A few months ago an American-flag merchant ship, the *Robin Moor*, was sunk by a Nazi submarine in the middle of the South Atlantic, under circumstances violating long-established international law and every principle of humanity. The passengers and the crew were forced into open boats hundreds of miles from land, in direct violation of international agreements signed by the Government of Germany. No apology, no allegation of mistake, no offer of reparations has come from the Nazi Government.

In July 1941, an American battleship in

¹Broadcast from the White House, September 11, 1941.

North American waters was followed by a submarine which for a long time sought to maneuver itself into a position of attack. The periscope of the submarine was clearly seen. No British or American submarines were within hundreds of miles of this spot at the time, so the nationality of the submarine is clear.

Five days ago a United States Navy ship on patrol picked up three survivors of an American-owned ship operating under the flag of our sister Republic of Panama—the *S. S. Sessa*. On August seventeenth, she had been first torpedoed without warning and then shelled, near Greenland, while carrying civilian supplies to Iceland. It is feared that the other members of her crew have been drowned. In view of the established presence of German submarines in this vicinity, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the attacker.

Five days ago, another United States merchant ship, the *Steel Seafarer*, was sunk by a German aircraft in the Red Sea two hundred and twenty miles south of Suez. She was bound for an Egyptian port.

Four of the vessels sunk or attacked flew the American flag and were clearly identifiable. Two of these ships were warships of the American Navy. In the fifth case, the vessel sunk clearly carried the flag of Panama.

In the face of all this, we Americans are keeping our feet on the ground. Our type of democratic civilization has outgrown the thought of feeling compelled to fight some other nation by reason of any single piratical attack on one of our ships. We are not becoming hysterical or losing our sense of proportion. Therefore, what I am thinking and saying does not relate to any isolated episode.

Instead, we Americans are taking a long-range point of view in regard to certain fundamentals and to a series of events on land and on sea which must be considered as a whole—as a part of a world pattern.

It would be unworthy of a great nation to exaggerate an isolated incident or to become inflamed by some one act of violence. But it would be inexcusable folly to minimize such incidents in the face of evidence which makes it

clear that the incident is not isolated but part of a general plan.

The important truth is that these acts of international lawlessness are a manifestation of a design which has been made clear to the American people for a long time. It is the Nazi design to abolish the freedom of the seas and to acquire absolute control and domination of the seas for themselves.

For with control of the seas in their own hands, the way can become clear for their next step—domination of the United States and the Western Hemisphere by force. Under Nazi control of the seas, no merchant ship of the United States or of any other American republic would be free to carry on any peaceful commerce, except by the condescending grace of this foreign and tyrannical power. The Atlantic Ocean which has been, and which should always be, a free and friendly highway for us would then become a deadly menace to the commerce of the United States, to the coasts of the United States, and to the inland cities of the United States.

The Hitler Government, in defiance of the laws of the sea and of the recognized rights of all other nations, has presumed to declare, on paper, that great areas of the seas—even including a vast expanse lying in the Western Hemisphere—are to be closed, and that no ships may enter them for any purpose, except at peril of being sunk. Actually they are sinking ships at will and without warning in widely separated areas both within and far outside of these far-flung pretended zones.

This Nazi attempt to seize control of the oceans is but a counterpart of the Nazi plots now being carried on throughout the Western Hemisphere—all designed toward the same end. For Hitler's advance guards—not only his avowed agents but also his dupes among us—have sought to make ready for him footholds and bridgeheads in the New World, to be used as soon as he has gained control of the oceans.

His intrigues, his plots, his machinations, his sabotage in this New World are all known to the Government of the United States. Conspiracy has followed conspiracy.

Last year a plot to seize the Government of Uruguay was smashed by the prompt action of that country, which was supported in full by her American neighbors. A like plot was then hatching in Argentina, and that Government has carefully and wisely blocked it at every point. More recently, an endeavor was made to subvert the Government of Bolivia. Within the past few weeks the discovery was made of secret air-landing fields in Colombia, within easy range of the Panama Canal. I could multiply instances.

To be ultimately successful in world-mastery, Hitler knows that he must get control of the seas. He must first destroy the bridge of ships which we are building across the Atlantic, over which we shall continue to roll the implements of war to help destroy him and all his works in the end. He must wipe out our patrol on sea and in the air. He must silence the British Navy.

It must be explained again and again to people who like to think of the United States Navy as an invincible protection, that this can be true only if the British Navy survives. That is simple arithmetic.

For if the world outside the Americas falls under Axis domination, the shipbuilding facilities which the Axis powers would then possess in all of Europe, in the British Isles, and in the Far East would be much greater than all the shipbuilding facilities and potentialities of all the Americas—not only greater but two or three times greater. Even if the United States threw all its resources into such a situation, seeking to double and even redouble the size of our Navy, the Axis powers, in control of the rest of the world, would have the man-power and the physical resources to outbuild us several times over.

It is time for all Americans of all the Americas to stop being deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world.

Generation after generation, America has battled for the general policy of the freedom of the seas. That policy is a very simple one—but a basic, fundamental one. It means that

no nation has the right to make the broad oceans of the world, at great distances from the actual theater of land war, unsafe for the commerce of others.

That has been our policy, proved time and time again, in all our history.

Our policy has applied from time immemorial—and still applies—not merely to the Atlantic but to the Pacific and to all other oceans as well.

Unrestricted submarine warfare in 1941 constitutes a defiance—an act of aggression—against that historic American policy.

It is now clear that Hitler has begun his campaign to control the seas by ruthless force and by wiping out every vestige of international law and humanity.

His intention has been made clear. The American people can have no further illusions about it.

No tender whisperings of appeasers that Hitler is not interested in the Western Hemisphere, no soporific lullabies that a wide ocean protects us from him can long have any effect on the hard-headed, far-sighted, and realistic American people.

Because of these episodes, because of the movements and operations of German warships, and because of the clear, repeated proof that the present Government of Germany has no respect for treaties or for international law, that it has no decent attitude toward neutral nations or human life—we Americans are now face to face not with abstract theories but with cruel, relentless facts.

This attack on the *Greer* was no localized military operation in the North Atlantic. This was no mere episode in a struggle between two nations. This was one determined step towards creating a permanent world system based on force, terror, and murder.

And I am sure that even now the Nazis are waiting to see whether the United States will by silence give them the green light to go ahead on this path of destruction.

The Nazi danger to our Western World has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now—not only from a military enemy

but from an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.

There has now come a time when you and I must see the cold, inexorable necessity of saying to these inhuman, unrestrained seekers of world-conquest and permanent world-domination by the sword—"You seek to throw our children and our children's children into your form of terrorism and slavery. You have now attacked our own safety. You shall go no further."

Normal practices of diplomacy—note-writing—are of no possible use in dealing with international outlaws who sink our ships and kill our citizens.

One peaceful nation after another has met disaster because each refused to look the Nazi danger squarely in the eye until it actually had them by the throat.

The United States will not make that fatal mistake.

No act of violence or intimidation will keep us from maintaining intact two bulwarks of defense: first, our line of supply of matériel to the enemies of Hitler; and second, the freedom of our shipping on the high seas.

No matter what it takes, no matter what it costs, we will keep open the line of legitimate commerce in these defensive waters.

We have sought no shooting war with Hitler. We do not seek it now. But neither do we want peace so much that we are willing to pay for it by permitting him to attack our naval and merchant ships while they are on legitimate business.

I assume that the German leaders are not deeply concerned by what we Americans say or publish about them. We cannot bring about the downfall of Nazism by the use of long-range invective.

But when you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him.

These Nazi submarines and raiders are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic. They are a menace to the free pathways of the high seas. They are a challenge to our sovereignty. They hammer at our most precious rights when they

attack ships of the American flag—symbols of our independence, our freedom, our very life.

It is clear to all Americans that the time has come when the Americas themselves must now be defended. A continuation of attacks in our own waters, or in waters which could be used for further and greater attacks on us, will inevitably weaken American ability to repel Hitlerism.

Do not let us split hairs. Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americas should begin to defend themselves after the fifth attack, or the tenth attack, or the twentieth attack.

The time for active defense is now.

Do not let us split hairs. Let us not say—"We will only defend ourselves if the torpedo succeeds in getting home, or if the crew and the passengers are drowned."

This is the time for prevention of attack.

If submarines or raiders attack in distant waters, they can attack equally well within sight of our own shores. Their very presence in any waters which America deems vital to its defense constitutes an attack.

In the waters which we deem necessary for our defense, American naval vessels and American planes will no longer wait until Axis submarines lurking under the water, or Axis raiders on the surface of the sea, strike their deadly blow—first.

Upon our naval and air patrol—now operating in large number over a vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean—falls the duty of maintaining the American policy of freedom of the seas—now. That means, very simply and clearly, that our patrolling vessels and planes will protect all merchant ships—not only American ships but ships of any flag—engaged in commerce in our defensive waters. They will protect them from submarines; they will protect them from surface raiders.

This situation is not new. The second President of the United States, John Adams, ordered the United States Navy to clean out European privateers and European ships of war which were infesting the Caribbean and South American waters, destroying American commerce.

The third President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, ordered the United States Navy to end the attacks being made upon American ships by the corsairs of the nations of North Africa.

My obligation as President is historic; it is clear; it is inescapable.

It is no act of war on our part when we decide to protect the seas which are vital to American defense. The aggression is not ours. Ours is solely defense.

But let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters the protection of which is necessary for American defense they do so at their own peril.

The orders which I have given as Commander-in-Chief to the United States Army and Navy are to carry out that policy—at once.

The sole responsibility rests upon Germany. There will be no shooting unless Germany continues to seek it.

That is my obvious duty in this crisis. That is the clear right of this sovereign Nation.

That is the only step possible, if we would keep tight the wall of defense which we are pledged to maintain around this Western Hemisphere.

I have no illusions about the gravity of this step. I have not taken it hurriedly or lightly. It is the result of months and months of constant thought and anxiety and prayer. In the protection of your Nation and mine it cannot be avoided.

The American people have faced other grave crises in their history—with American courage and American resolution. They will do no less today.

They know the actualities of the attacks upon us. They know the necessities of a bold defense against these attacks. They know that the times call for clear heads and fearless hearts.

And with that inner strength that comes to a free people conscious of their duty and of the righteousness of what they do, they will—with Divine help and guidance—stand their ground against this latest assault upon their democracy, their sovereignty, and their freedom.

SINKING OF THE S.S. "STEEL SEAFARER" IN THE RED SEA

[Released to the press September 10]

The Department has received the following preliminary report of the master of the *Steel Seafarer* on the sinking of that vessel:

"At 21:38 Greenwich mean time 5th September ship proceeding Suez Shadwan Light 294 degrees 12½ miles. Aircraft heard and two seconds later two explosions on starboard side by number four hold. No flames seen. Plane flew low over ship starboard to port with engines shut off. Ship took list to port then 6 degrees to starboard settled and sank quickly by stern. Wireless out of action. Boats and crew in water in 5 minutes pulled away from ship just clear when ship disappeared. Boats made for Shadwan two arriving 08:40 Greenwich mean time other boat became separated owing to wind and rough sea. After repairs two boats proceeded to Hurghada to report by telegram

one boat adrift. Remaining boat and crew since reported returning Suez in tanker arriving tomorrow 10th September."

This report was forwarded by the American Legation in Cairo which stated that more detailed information would be transmitted as soon as possible.

[Released to the press September 11]

The text of the affidavit executed by the Master of the S. S. *Steel Seafarer*, Captain Halliday, before the American Vice Consul at Suez on September 9, 1941, follows:

"At 23:38 hours Egyptian mean time on September 5, 1941, the SS *Steel Seafarer* was proceeding towards the port of Suez. Shadwan Island bore 294 degrees true distance 12½ miles. Only the ship's side lights (port and

starboard) were burning in accordance with instructions given to me by the British naval authorities in Aden, and had been burning for about an hour and a half. The superstructure of the ship was white, and the ship was carrying a deck load of white cases. The flags painted on the ship's side were not lighted up. The moon was full, however, there were no clouds and the visibility was perfect. The flag was flying from the stern. Suddenly an airplane was heard and seen approaching from the starboard side. It was flying very low, just clearing the masts. About two seconds after it was heard it flew right over the bridge, and as it was full moon and the atmosphere was clear, the plane was easily seen to have two motors. About two seconds later two explosions occurred, which to me appeared to be about number four and five holds.

"All lights went out and the steerage gear jammed. The vessel took about a five degree port list then about a six degree starboard list, then straightened up and was settling down fast by the stern. When the explosion took place I immediately rang the general alarm and sent Mr. Scuka, my third officer, to call the wireless operator and send an SOS, but Mr. Abernethy, the wireless operator, arrived in the wheel house and then the passengers' room. He tried both the main and emergency radio sets but could get no results with either. He then assisted in sending off distress rockets but the vessel was sinking so fast this had to be abandoned. Mr. Pratt, the chief officer, was supervising the lowering of the life boats. I instructed him to get all the crew in the life boats and for the twin screw life boats on the lee side to remain alongside. Mr. Scuka, the third officer, was sent to see the conditions aft and he came back and reported that the well was awash aft, so he was sent to get into a life boat. Cathwright, A.B., came and reported that all the crew's quarters were flooded and also that all bulkheads and doors were twisted and jammed.

"At this time I saw that the vessel could not be saved and she was sinking fast. I decided she must be abandoned. Cathwright, A.B., had

searched through the crew's quarters, but all were gone and I went down to starboard midships alley way shouting if all were out, and as I had not seen my chief engineer, I went into his room and felt around but he also was gone. I opened the engine room door, but all was in darkness. I shouted: 'Are all out?' When Mr. Pratt, chief officer, Cathwright, A.B., and myself left the ship, her stern was just under water, and by the time we got away about 100 feet, she sank by the stern straight down. The foremast was carried away before she went under.

"There were no casualties, and injuries were limited to minor scratches.

"The ship sank, in my opinion, approximately 23:53 hours Egyptian mean time."

[Released to the press September 13]

The Department is informed by the American Legation in Cairo that the remainder of the crew of the S.S. *Steel Seafarer* arrived in Suez on the afternoon of September 11, 1941.

The affidavit of Joseph M. C. Scuka, the third officer of the vessel, sworn to before the American Vice Consul in Port Said on September 11, 1941, is printed below.

After confirming the information contained in the affidavit of D. Halliday, the master of the *Steel Seafarer*, he continued—

"I was standing alongside the captain when I heard a motor that sounded as if it belonged to a plane. We looked towards the apparent direction of the plane and saw it approaching toward us on the starboard side. The moon was full and directly overhead. The visibility was perfect; I could even see the plane's exhaust sparkling. It was a twin-motored plane, very large and heavily built with a snub nose. I have consulted today Italian and German silhouettes of planes and I firmly believe that the plane I saw was most probably a Junkers 88 or at any rate a German plane and not an Italian plane.

"The plane passed directly over the ship about 250 feet, as well as I can judge, above the mainmast. About two seconds after the

plane was clear of the ship I heard a muffled explosion [apparent omission] to me to be below the water line. About a second later I heard another explosion which appeared to be a little louder than the first.

"I believe that the plane could have had no difficulty in identifying the ship owing to the

following facts: The ship's superstructure was painted white; the masts and stacks buff. I am unable to say whether the flags painted on the ship's sides and the one flying from the stern were visible to the plane although there was brilliant moonlight."

SINKING OF THE S.S. "SESSA" SOUTHWEST OF ICELAND

[Released to the press September 9]

The State Department has been informed by the Navy Department that on Saturday morning, September 6, the Navy picked up three surviving members of the crew of the S. S. *Sessa* about 300 miles southwest of Iceland. Twenty-four members of the crew are unreported and are presumed lost.

The State Department is informed that the survivors stated that the ship had been sunk by a torpedo on August 17. There was one American citizen member of the crew. His name is lacking and he is not one of the survivors. Names of the three survivors have not been furnished to the Department of State.

The *Sessa* was a former Danish vessel which was acquired from the Danish Government under the authority of the recent law permitting the taking over of idle foreign-flag ships in American waters (Public Law 101). The vessel was under Panamanian registry and was transporting supplies for and owned by the Government of Iceland. The cargo consisted of foodstuffs, cereals, lumber, and other general cargo and did not include arms, ammunition, or implements of war.

[Released to the press September 10]

The Department of State has been informed by the Navy Department that the names of the survivors of the S.S. *Sessa* picked up by the U.S.S. *Lansdale* are as follows:

H. K. Bjerregaard, age 37, chief mate, a citizen of Odense, Denmark

G. L. T. (Gote) Ljunggren, age 32, able seaman, a Swedish citizen

J. (Joao) de Oliveira Correia, age 25, able seaman, a Portuguese citizen

The Navy Department states that the survivors are not now on board the U.S.S. *Lansdale* but that prior to their debarkation the following statements were obtained from them:

The *Sessa* was torpedoed without warning midnight, August 17, about 300 miles from Reykjavik (about 7 p.m. eastern standard time) while proceeding to that port from New York. After torpedoing, the *Sessa* was struck amidship by two shells. The *Sessa* sank two minutes after being torpedoed.

[Released to the press September 10]

The American Consul at Reykjavik, Mr. Bertel E. Kuniholm, reports that survivors of the S.S. *Sessa* state that the *Sessa* was running darkened with dimmed navigational lights when struck at 10 p. m. ship's time by torpedo. Survivors describe light conditions as deep twilight. Mate thinks visibility was so low that submarine could not have seen ship's markings. Ship struck by torpedo starboard side just forward bridge. Listed to starboard, sinking almost immediately. 2 shells fired, 1 striking bridge probably killing Captain, Third Mate and Quartermaster, other striking bunker-house. Submarine not seen nor did survivors see gunfire flashes. Forward raft probably destroyed by torpedo explosion. No chance use lifeboats. 6 men reached after-raft by swimming. 2 Portuguese and 1 Canadian died on raft. Survivors saw no other boats or rafts and were unable to reach other seaman in water.

SINKING OF THE S.S. "MONTANA" WEST OF ICELAND

[Released to the press September 12]

The Department of State has been informed that the American-owned cargo ship *Montana* under Panama registry (formerly Danish *Paula*), requisitioned by the United States Maritime Commission on August 2, 1941, sailed from Wilmington, N. C., for Iceland at 9 a.m., August 29, with a cargo of lumber for the Iceland Government.

According to a message from the Navy Department received at 12 noon September 12 the ship was observed by aircraft to be torpedoed in latitude 63° 40' north and longitude 35° 50' west at 13:45 Greenwich central time (8:45 eastern standard time) on September 11. The message said that the crew took to the boats.

The *Montana* had on board about 1,500,000 feet of lumber, was due in Reykjavik, Iceland, on September 11, and was to discharge her cargo at Reykjavik and three other Iceland ports.

The crew of 26 included 18 Danish citizens; 5 Norwegian citizens; 1 Greek citizen; 1 Belgian citizen; 1 Spanish citizen; no American citizens.

DAMAGE TO THE S.S. "ARKANSAN" AT SUEZ

[Released to the press September 13]

The State Department has been informed by the American Legation at Cairo that the steamship *Arkansan*, an American-flag vessel owned by the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company of New York and San Francisco, which was operating between the United States and the Red Sea, is reported to have been hit by shell fragments and some of plates pierced in a heavy air raid over Suez on the night of September 11.

The vessel, which was built in 1921 and has a gross tonnage of 6,997, left New York on July 19, 1941. She arrived at Port Sudan on September 5 and left for Suez on September 8, apparently arriving there some time before the bombing.

There were 38 men in the crew. Thirty-six of these were American citizens, one was British, and one Dutch. No casualties have been reported but further details will be obtained as soon as possible.

LICENSING OF EXPORTS

[Released to the press September 8]

The Secretary of State announced on September 8 that a revision has been made in the Department's system of numbering export licenses, and that all general licenses issued by the Department are being replaced by a single general license for each country.

This consolidation of numerous licenses under one number does not alter the list of articles and materials which may be exported to the respective countries under general license.

General licenses will be designated hereafter by the letter "G" followed by the number assigned to the respective country of destination. As an example, general license number "G-1" authorizes the exportation to Canada of all those commodities previously authorized by numerous separate general licenses. When any additional commodities are added to the list of those authorized to be exported to Canada under general license, they will be included under license number "G-1".

The foregoing arrangement will also apply to exportations which are now being made under general licenses "GWW" and "GWY". The latter symbols will no longer be used.

Exporters are requested to set forth the new license numbers on shippers' export declarations when making exportations authorized by general licenses.

The number assigned to each foreign country for the purpose of general licenses will be found in the following list:

1. Canada
2. Great Britain and Northern Ireland
3. Cuba
4. Argentina
5. Bolivia
6. Brazil
7. Chile
8. Colombia
9. Costa Rica

10. Curaçao (including the islands of Curaçao; Aruba; Bonaire; Saba; St. Eustatius; and St. Martin, southern part)
11. Dominican Republic
12. Ecuador
13. El Salvador
14. Guatemala
15. Haiti
16. Honduras
17. Mexico
18. Nicaragua
19. Panama
20. Paraguay
21. Peru
22. Surinam
23. Uruguay
24. Venezuela
25. Aden
26. Australia (except Papua and the Territory of New Guinea under mandate) including Nauru, mandated territory
27. Bahamas
28. Barbados
29. Bermuda
30. British East Africa (including Kenya; Uganda; Nyasaland; Zanzibar; and Tanganyika, mandated territory)
31. British Guiana
32. British Honduras
33. British Malaya (including British North Borneo; Brunei; Federated Malay States; Sarawak; Straits Settlements; Unfederated Malay States; Christmas Island, Indian Ocean; Cocos (Keeling) Islands)
34. British West Africa (including Nigeria; British Cameroons, mandated territory; Gambia; Sierra Leone; Gold Coast, including Ashanti and Northern Territory; and British Togoland, mandated territory)
35. Burma
36. Ceylon
37. Cyprus
38. Ireland (Eire)
39. Falkland Islands (including South Georgia)
41. Gibraltar
42. Hong Kong
43. India
44. Jamaica
45. Leeward Islands (including Antigua, Barbuda, Redonda, St. Christopher (St. Kitts) Island, Nevis Island, Anguilla Island, Montserrat, Sombrero, and British Virgin Islands)
46. Mauritius (including Rodrigues Island and Diego Garcia Island)
47. Newfoundland
48. New Zealand
49. New Guinea, British (comprising Papua or British New Guinea; and Territory of New Guinea, mandated territory)
50. Northern Rhodesia
51. Palestine and Trans-Jordan
52. St. Helena (including Ascension Island, Gough Island, Inaccessible Island, Nightingale Island, and Tristan da Cunha Island)
53. Seychelles and Dependencies
54. Oceania, British (including British Solomon Islands; Fiji Islands; Gilbert and Ellice Islands; New Hebrides Islands; Pitcairn Island; Tonga or Friendly Islands; Santa Cruz Islands; Cook Islands; and Western Samoa, mandated territory)
55. Southern Rhodesia
56. Trinidad and Tobago
57. Union of South Africa (including South-West Africa)
58. Windward Islands (including Grenada, Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica)
59. Egypt
60. Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
61. Greenland
62. Iceland
63. Philippine Islands
64. Netherlands Indies
65. China
66. Belgian Congo
67. Bahrain Islands
68. French West Indies (including Désirade; Guadeloupe; Les Saintes; Martinique; Marie Galante; St. Martin, northern part; and St. Bartholomew)
69. French Guiana
70. Miquelon and St. Pierre
71. French Oceania (all French possessions in the Pacific)
72. French Cameroons
73. French Equatorial Africa
74. Iraq
75. Liberia
76. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
77. Turkey
78. Syria
79. All other destinations

[Released to the press September 8]

The Secretary of State announced on September 8 that the general licenses authorizing exportations to Canada (G-1); Great Britain and Northern Ireland (G-2); and Newfoundland (G-47) have been amended to include shellac and titanium.

General license G-62, authorizing exportations to Iceland, has been amended to include titanium. The exportation of shellac to Iceland

is already authorized under general license G-62.

[Released to the press September 10]

The Secretary of State announced on September 10 that general licenses authorizing exports to numerous foreign countries have been amended to include certain additional commodities.

General licenses G-1 to G-66, both inclusive, and G-68 to G-77, both inclusive, have been amended to include the forms, conversions, and derivatives of commodities listed in Export Control Schedule 18¹ under the hearings:

Animal Products
Textile Fibers and Manufactures
Nonmetallic Minerals
Nonferrous Metals
Precious Metals

General licenses G-1, authorizing exports to Canada; G-2, authorizing exports to Great Britain and Northern Ireland; G-47, authorizing exports to Newfoundland; G-62, authorizing exports to Iceland; and G-63, authorizing exports to the Philippine Islands, have been amended to include the forms, conversions, and derivatives listed in Export Control Schedule 18 under the heading "Leather".

General license G-63, authorizing exports to the Philippine Islands, has been amended to include the forms, conversions, and derivatives listed in Export Control Schedule 18 under the heading "Wood and Paper".

MONTHLY STATISTICS ON TRAFFIC IN ARMS, AMMUNITION, ETC.

[Released to the press September 8]

NOTE: The figures relating to arms, the licenses for the export of which were revoked before they were used, have been subtracted from the figures appearing in the cumulative column of the table below in regard to arms-export licenses issued. These latter figures are therefore net figures. They are not yet final and definitive since licenses may be amended or revoked at any time before being used. They are, however, accurate as of the date of this press release.

The statistics of actual exports in these releases are believed to be substantially complete. It is possible, however, that some shipments are not included. If this proves to be the fact, statistics in regard to such shipments will be included in the cumulative figures in later releases.

ARMS-EXPORT LICENSES ISSUED

The table printed below indicates by category subdivision the value of the arms, ammunition, and implements of war licensed for export by the Secretary of State during the year 1941 up to and including the month of July:

¹ 6 *Federal Register* 4664.

	Category	July 1941	Export licenses issued for 7 months ending July 31, 1941
I	(1)	\$34,236.94	\$27,610,902.84
	(2)	9,253,592.51	35,405,786.19
	(3)	12,689,159.80	38,753,221.70
	(4)	5,978,609.52	151,490,149.45
	(5)	175,000.00	8,218,647.68
	(6)	2,737,635.50	77,378,322.75
II	3,404,222.10	6,354,747.92
III	(1)	129,644,097.70	473,696,176.44
	(2)	2,522.00	242,820.43
IV	(1)	81,746.10	2,469,340.34
	(2)	161,157.12	3,855,278.95
V	(1)	312,269.25	6,329,012.78
	(2)	3,387,257.49	62,268,763.61
	(3)	22,221,684.25	132,350,166.86
VI	(2)	1,243.50	9,985.50
VII	(1)	5,040,960.96	26,070,096.68
	(2)	1,834,635.50	5,472,771.73
	Total	190,960,030.24	1,057,976,191.85

ARMS EXPORTED

The table printed below indicates by category subdivision the value of arms, ammunition, and implements of war exported during the year

1941 up to and including the month of July under export licenses issued by the Secretary of State:

Category	July 1941	Actual exports for 7 months ending July 31, 1941
I (1)	\$25,850.38	\$2,399,666.15
(2)	967,295.00	14,153,451.76
(3)	1,875,899.00	12,274,807.20
(4)	15,489,130.28	42,746,042.16
(5)	1,517,855.00	10,954,970.00
(6)	4,726,472.00	14,338,546.00
II.		1,484,507.00
III (1)	31,924,378.00	187,137,065.04
(2)	86,224.00	291,447.24
IV (1)	297,560.85	1,930,312.26
(2)	190,957.09	2,675,775.85
V (1)	1,688,886.00	8,262,516.28
(2)	1,673,500.15	15,076,109.06
(3)	5,762,653.81	53,238,422.76
VI (2)	218.75	7,707.75
VII (1)	2,056,204.74	11,482,150.33
(2)	789,191.00	2,949,935.49
Total.....	68,072,276.05	381,403,432.33

ARMS-IMPORT LICENSES ISSUED

The table printed below indicates by category subdivision the value of the arms, ammunition, and implements of war licensed for import by the Secretary of State during the month of July 1941:

Category	Value	Total
I (1)	\$4,072.00	
(2)	6,000.00	
(3)	10,084.00	
(4)	21,706.00	
(5)	50.00	
(6)	35,000.00	\$313,820.39
IV (1)	148.90	
V (1)	25,000.00	
(2)	2,671.92	
(3)	27,307.57	
VII (2)	181,780.00	

CATEGORIES OF ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR

The categories of arms, ammunition, and implements of war in the first column of the tables printed above are the categories into which those articles were divided in the President's proclamation of May 1, 1937, enumerating the articles which would be considered as arms,

ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of section 5 of the joint resolution of May 1, 1937 [see the *Bulletin* of July 12, 1941, pages 33-35].

SPECIAL STATISTICS IN REGARD TO ARMS EXPORTS TO CUBA

In compliance with article II of the convention between the United States and Cuba to suppress smuggling, signed at Habana, March 11, 1926, which reads in part as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties agree that clearance of shipments of merchandise by water, air, or land, from any of the ports of either country to a port of entry of the other country, shall be denied when such shipment comprises articles the importation of which is prohibited or restricted in the country to which such shipment is destined, unless in this last case there has been a compliance with the requisites demanded by the laws of both countries."

and in compliance with the laws of Cuba which restrict the importation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war of all kinds by requiring an import permit for each shipment, export licenses for shipments of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to Cuba are required for the articles enumerated below in addition to the articles enumerated in the President's proclamation of May 1, 1937:

(1) Arms and small arms using ammunition of caliber .22 or less, other than those classed as toys.

(2) Spare parts of arms and small arms of all kinds and calibers, other than those classed as toys, and of guns and machine guns.

(3) Ammunition for the arms and small arms under (1) above.

(4) Sabers, swords, and military machetes with cross-guard hilts.

(5) Explosives as follows: explosive powders of all kinds for all purposes; nitrocellulose having a nitrogen content of 12 percent or less; diphenylamine; dynamite of all kinds; nitro-glycerine; alkaline nitrates (ammonium, potassium, and sodium nitrate); nitric acid;

nitrobenzene (essence or oil of mirbane); sulphur; sulphuric acid; chlorate of potash; and acetones.

(6) Tear gas ($C_6H_5COCH_2Cl$) and other similar non-toxic gases and apparatus designed for the storage or projection of such gases.

The table printed below indicates, in respect to licenses authorizing the exportation to Cuba of the articles and commodities listed in the preceding paragraph, issued by the Secretary of State during July 1941, the number of licenses and the value of the articles and commodities described in the licenses:

Number of licenses	Section	Value	Total
31-----	(1).....	\$1,780.75	
	(2).....	172.00	
	(3).....	4,111.07	
	(5).....	22,423.67	\$28,487.49

The table printed below indicates the value of the articles and commodities listed above exported to Cuba during July 1941 under licenses issued by the Secretary of State:

Section	Value	Total
(1).....	\$808.00	
(2).....	236.00	
(3).....	3,127.00	
(5).....	5,388.06	
(6).....	20,577.00	\$30,136.06

HELIUM

The table printed below gives the essential information in regard to the licenses issued during the month of July 1941 authorizing the exportation of helium gas under the provisions of the act approved on September 1, 1937, and the regulations issued pursuant thereto:

Applicant for license	Purchaser in foreign country	Country of destination	Quantity in cubic feet	Total value
Puritan Compressed Gas Corp.	Audrain y Medina.	Cuba.....	84.....	\$30.00

Europe

MEMORANDUM OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON DISTRIBUTION OF LEND-LEASE MATERIAL

[Released to the press September 10]

The text of a memorandum by the British Government, together with an exchange of letters concerning it between Mr. Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. John G. Winant, American Ambassador to Great Britain, follows:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, S. W. 1,
"10th September, 1941.

"MY DEAR AMBASSADOR,

"With reference to the conversations about Lend-Lease material which have recently taken place in London and in which you have par-

ticipated, I enclose a memorandum on the policy of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom with regard to exports from this country and with regard to the distribution here of Lend-Lease material. I shall be glad if you will transmit it to your Government.

"Yours sincerely,

ANTHONY EDEN"

[Enclosure]

"MEMORANDUM.

"1. All materials which we obtain under the Lend-Lease Act are required for the prosecu-

tion of the War effort. This principle governs all questions of the distribution and use of such goods and His Majesty's Government have taken and will continue to take action to secure that these goods are not in any case diverted to the furtherance of private interests.

"Export Policy."

"2. Lend-Lease materials sent to this country have not been used for export and every effort will be made in the future to ensure that they are not used for export, subject to the principle that where complete physical segregation of Lend-Lease materials is impracticable domestic consumption of the material in question shall be at least equal to the amounts received under Lend-Lease.

"3. His Majesty's Government have not applied and will not apply any materials similar to those supplied under Lend-Lease in such a way as to enable their exporters to enter new markets or to extend their export trade at the expense of United States exporters. Owing to the need to devote all available capacity and man-power to war production, the United Kingdom export trade is restricted to the irreducible minimum necessary to supply or obtain materials essential to the war effort.

"4. For some time past, exports from the United Kingdom have been more and more confined to those essential (I) for the supply of vital requirements of overseas countries, particularly in the sterling empire; (II) for the acquisition of foreign exchange, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. His Majesty's Government have adopted the policy summarized below:

"(I) No materials of a type the use of which is being restricted in the United States on the grounds of short supply and of which we obtain supplies from the United States either by payment or on Lend-Lease terms will be used in exports with the exception of the following special cases:

"(a) Material which is needed overseas in connection with supplies essential to the war effort for ourselves and our Allies, and which cannot be obtained from the United States.

"(b) Small quantities of such materials needed as minor though essential components of exports which otherwise are composed of materials not in short supply in the United States.

"(c) Repair parts for British machinery and plant now in use, and machinery and plant needed to complete installations now under construction, so long as they have already been contracted for.

"Steps have been taken to prevent the export (except to Empire and Allied territories) of such goods which do not come within the exceptions referred to in (a), (b) and (c) above.

"(II) Materials similar to those being provided under Lend-Lease which are not in short supply in the United States will not be used for export in quantities greater than those which we ourselves produce or buy from any source.

"Distribution in the United Kingdom of Lend-Lease goods."

"5. The general principle followed in this matter is that the remuneration received by the distributors, whatever the method of distribution, is controlled and will be no more than a fair return for the services rendered in the work of distribution. The arrangements rigorously exclude any opportunity for a speculative profit by private interests from dealing in Lend-Lease goods. In most cases, Lend-Lease supplies will be distributed through organizations acting as agents of His Majesty's Government in the strict sense of the term and not as principals. Where for strong practical reasons this cannot be done a full explanation will be supplied to the United States Administration and their concurrence sought beforehand in any alternative arrangements proposed. The justification for retaining existing channels of distribution operating under strict Government control, is that the creation of elaborate new organizations in their place would inevitably result in loss of efficiency and the wasteful use of manpower, and retard the war effort. In the distribution of Lend-Lease

goods there will be no discrimination against United States firms.

"6. Food is a special case. Only some 5 or 6 percent in tonnage of the total British food supply is coming from the United States and without great practical complications it would be impossible to have a separate system for the distribution of Lend-Lease food. Food distribution is carried out in the United Kingdom by wholesalers, to whom the Government sells food as principals. In fact, the Ministry of Food has established a close control over all distributive margins so that neither the wholesalers nor the retailers receive any greater remuneration than is adequate to cover the cost of the services performed. No food obtained on Lend-Lease terms is or will be sold at uncontrolled prices. Thus the general arrangements as regards the issue of Lend-Lease food fit into His Majesty's Government's policy of stabilising the whole price level of food-stuffs, a policy to which the Government contributes £100 millions a year.

"7. In some cases direct free distribution is practicable and will be adopted. For example, some milk products (including Lend-Lease supplies from the United States) are distributed direct and free of charge to children and others in need through schools, clinics and hospitals. The distribution is undertaken by State agencies and the cost of the distribution is borne by the Government.

"SEPTEMBER 10, 1941."

"LONDON, September 10, 1941.

"DEAR MR. EDEN:

"Thank you for your letter of September 10th, enclosing a memorandum on United Kingdom export policy and on the distribution of Lend-Lease material. I have caused the memorandum to be transmitted immediately to Washington for the information of my Government.

"Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. WINANT"

American Republics

BRAZIL: ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE

[Released to the press September 7]

The following message was read on behalf of the President of the United States on radio programs transmitted to Brazil on September 7, 1941:

"On this memorable date, we in the United States of North America join with you, the Government and people of Brazil, in commemorating the 'grito de Ypiranga'—that resounding assertion of Brazilian independence which was so eloquently voiced by Dom Pedro.

"This spirit of independence makes us kindred peoples who can understand, appreciate, and respect each other's feelings and main-springs of action. The further ties that bind us in friendship and mutual interest are many and strong. They are also ancient and enduring.

"Brazil has shown constant devotion to the sentiment of fraternity toward all her sister nations of the Americas, in deed as well as in word. Brazil has steadily rendered service to the cause of peaceful arbitration. Brazil harbors no aggressive designs against any nation. Brazil's policies have constantly been based upon continental friendship and solidarity. The United States is in accord with Brazil in these principles; it will continue to support them with all its moral and material resources.

"Because of this fundamental sympathy of spirit and purpose, President Vargas' recent greeting of friendship upon the occasion of our own independence day was particularly touching to the hearts of the people of the United States. Because of it also, it is deeply gratify-

ing to me to return this greeting on behalf of the people of my country on this anniversary of Brazil's emergence as an independent force devoted to the principles of justice and fraternity among independent nations—an emergence which we are proud of having been first to recognize.

"Aggression and conquest are now grinding hitherto great, happy, and peaceful nations into the most abject misery and poverty. No nation is safe against them. Never was the world more in need of a re-establishment of the ideals of peace and justice for which Brazil has so constantly stood. I know that they will always receive support from a Brazil always growing in prosperity and prestige."

[Released to the press September 8]

The President has sent the following telegram to the President of Brazil, His Excellency Dr. Getulio Vargas:

**"THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 7, 1941.**

"It gives me the greatest pleasure to greet Your Excellency and to extend to you my cordial congratulations and my sincere good wishes for your personal welfare and for the increasing happiness and prosperity of the people of Brazil on this anniversary of Brazil's independence.

"It is profoundly encouraging to me, as it must be to you, to find in the fruitful and cordial relations which have prevailed between our two peoples since the date we are today commemorating a demonstration and a vindication

of those principles upon which the world of the future must be based and to the preservation of which our two peoples, in common with those of the other American republics, are pledged. I am especially happy to have this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the spirit of harmony and cooperation with which you and the distinguished members of your Government have inspired all discussions of matters of mutual interest to our two countries.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

The Secretary of State has sent the following telegram to His Excellency Oswaldo Aranha, Minister for Foreign Relations of Brazil:

"SEPTEMBER 7, 1941.

"On this memorable date in the history of Brazil and of the new world, it gives me the greatest satisfaction, after a year in which the relations between our two Governments have grown closer than ever before, to send to Your Excellency my most cordial greetings and to express to you my very deep appreciation of your friendly and constant cooperation during the past year. The American republics, confronted by the menace of those forces of aggression and conquest which have been unleashed in the world, have need more than ever of the firm adherence which Your Excellency has demonstrated to the principle of continental solidarity for continental defense.

"Please accept my best wishes for the personal happiness and health of Your Excellency.

CORDELL HULL"

General

THE FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press September 9]

You are assembled here to discuss the faith and philosophy of democratic government. This is all to the good. You realize perfectly that you are not talking theory. If what you think and say is valid, you yourselves and the

groups which you represent and influence will be drawn almost at once into vivid action.

¹ Delivered at the first meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion at Columbia University, September 8, 1941.

In saying that you are at once drawn into the field of action, I am not talking academics.

There are in the United States organizations who raise their impetus from foreign powers and who follow the deliberations of such groups as yours. Note is taken of names and utterances. The individuals are classified according to their views. In due time they are card-indexed chiefly for the use of the German Government. If any of you seem as though you might be made of use in a Fascist movement, that is recorded. If your minds and hearts place you as instinctive enemies, that too is recorded. All of this information is kept for future reference, and as opportunity appears it will turn up in the propaganda or political campaigns which are a recognized part of the total war. There is nothing unnatural about this, and most of us in times like these are only too glad to stand up and be counted for the faith that is in us. I mention the fact because philosophical discussions today are not mere mental exercises. They are a definite part of a world struggle. I hope they will become an ever greater part. In conferences like these we begin to approach those ultimate questions which will determine the history of the next era.

Let me present as a thesis the proposition that faith is dynamic and that it is today shaping the course of events. Further, the faith which we profess and is universal in application of necessity must conquer. It will win the present war. It will organize the ensuing peace. Because the democratic method we profess is the political expression of a universal faith, I have absolute conviction that at long last it will triumph in the cataclysmic struggle now going forward.

This is not the observation of a preacher. It is the cold conclusion of a student of affairs.

Faith is a belief in values so strong that it constrains the individual to act above and beyond his apparent personal interests. It is that quality of belief in the kinds of value which prompts and requires men to do things which are intrinsically dangerous, to achieve results which by mechanical standards are impossible

and which in consequence can give the lie to apparently overmastering force. The processes of its action are incalculable, though we know of certain things it can do.

It can make men act together, for a common faith creates brotherhood and alliances by the mere fact of its being.

It can baffle, frustrate, and eventually convert even enemies, for it corresponds to a human—perhaps a divine—desire which experience shows is a part of every human mind and heart.

These are not abstractions. History teaches as its clearest lesson that no nation can be conquered unless it is willing to accept conquest. If it preserves a faith in itself, the conqueror has failed; if he is not ultimately destroyed, he is finally reduced to impotence.

In the earliest recorded history we have records of two great captivities—the Jewish captivity in Egypt and the Jewish captivity in Babylon. By all physical and worldly standards survival of the Jewish faith and maintenance of the Jewish nation were literally impossible. Yet the two greatest empires of their time met something with which they could not cope. The captive might be a slave; but in his mind he was free. He had qualities which made even his captors seek him in times of stress. His fellow captives were not fellow slaves but brothers. His spiritual leaders, though they were reduced to servitude, were none the less captains in a great struggle.

Shortly after the crucifixion of Christ and in the name of the new and universal faith which thus reached the Western World, there appeared the most amazing proof of the determining quality of dynamic faith. All revolutionary techniques we know today are merely elaborations of the method worked out by St. Paul in the white heat of his passion to bring about the establishment of a world based on the principle of loving your neighbor as yourself. You recall the story of that astonishing period.

Because the faith he professed was universal and because it included everyone St. Paul could and did salute as a brother anyone from emperor to slave. Now the quality of finding himself part of a brotherhood—especially if you

have been isolated and oppressed—is the most thrilling experience that can come to a man. Groups started throughout the entire eastern empire. The man who was yesterday a common soldier, a simple laborer, or a serf regarded as an animal suddenly found himself part of a family. Even his oppressor ceased to be the embodiment of force and became merely an extremely wayward brother. Perhaps St. Paul's greatest propaganda value (as we should say today) occurred during his imprisonment in Rome while he was awaiting trial and ultimate execution. He was guarded by Roman legionaries to whom he talked. In the Roman Empire as in Nazi Germany today life offered very little to the common soldier. He was ticketed for a hopeless life and ultimate death. To him the idea that he was also a man, a part of the great historical process, an heir of God, must have had a superlative splendor. The guards in St. Paul's prison were changed often and sent to all parts of the Empire with the result that endless cells of Christianity appeared unexplicably all over the Empire. This faith that a prisoner could impart to his jailer so that a leader anywhere could share with anyone he chanced to meet was a new factor in an Empire built on mere personal ambition. You could not meet it with armies. You had no ideas which could conquer it. Students of this history tell me that there is on record a letter from an exceedingly puzzled Roman official to his chief wondering how you could deal with this—and finding no answer.

Let us translate this experience into modern terms.

The decrees in most of Europe today require that a Jew shall wear a yellow star of David. This is intended as a badge of dishonor. But seen through the eyes of a dynamic faith it becomes a signal of brotherhood. In the tactics of passive resistance there is no greater advantage possible than to be able to distinguish your friends and allies from your enemies. So far from being the badge of shame which was the idea of the oppressor, it is actually becoming the outward and visible symbol of an inward and unconquerable strength.

What happened nearly three thousand years ago in Babylon can happen—and will happen—again. Today there is not a single captivity. There are many. The Polish Catholic is likewise condemned to wear a separate badge in the conquered parts of Europe. By this he knows when he meets his brothers of that faith. In the unhappy history of Poland this has occurred before. Never has it been possible to kill by any such means that invincible quality which has made Poland a continuous factor in victory or defeat. You could multiply instances in the black tale of present-day Europe from the Arctic Ocean to the Adriatic, from Brest to the banks of the Dnieper River. The outstanding fact is that though armies move and can destroy and kill, they cannot build. The waste they create is slowly but with deadly certainty swallowing the resources of the conquering forces. At this moment there are groups of experts in Berlin anxiously reckoning their expenditures in destruction and realizing that they cannot replace the munitions, the civilian supplies, and the lives they have wasted. Only dynamic faith and human cooperation can build; and without building there is no continuing flow of resources by which national life, let alone conquest, can be continued.

To you, the difficulties which are already beginning to appear in civil and military fronts of Europe are readily explicable. For the theory of the Nazi conquest was not universal but particular; it included few and excluded almost everyone. The Nazi "faith" eliminates a great part of humanity. The plan of setting up a "master race" was in any case scientifically silly; but politically and militarily it was infinitely worse. By excluding five-sixths of the people in its chosen areas, it arrayed against itself the forces it most needed. Because these forces were relegated to lowly and humble positions they were less visible and less easy to deal with. It is fairly easy for the *gauleiter* of an alleged master race to imprison or shoot a civil governor and put in one of his own men. But he cannot find, still less shoot, all of the people who keep the drains open or the streets clean, who keep the water

flowing into the houses or the lights lighted in the thoroughfares.

In modern life the ultimate controls lie with the little people who actually labor with their hands on the mechanisms which keep civilization going. Whenever they stop wanting to do these things or whenever the civilization they are supposed to operate with the sweat of their brows ceases to be an expression of the faith they have, the machine stops going. Still worse, it may go into reverse. In that moment the master becomes not a dominant force but a hunted figure. The conqueror walks the streets in constant fear. His armed forces, though not a word is said, know that they are surrounded by a force they do not understand—a force which one day will mean that they will not eat. The would-be rulers of an empire become a handful of people, with arms in their hands it is true, but with their backs against a wall.

This is what is happening on the Continent of Europe today. There is not a single fraction of the entire mechanism which its Nazi conquerors can trust. The more intelligent of those conquerors are desperately seeking for some exit from a situation which they themselves have created. Yet there can be no exit so long as they profess and practice an outlaw faith which by their own choice cuts them off as effectively from most of mankind as though they were lepers.

With this new demonstration of a very old historical truth you will perhaps understand why some of us have never doubted the final victory over the present disaster. We have seen it happen too often! We know that by mathematical calculation a year ago last June it seemed impossible that Britain should not be forced to her knees. Military experts added up their figures and could come to no other conclusion. The Germans were so sure of it that they found it inconceivable that a sane British Government should not recognize what were assumed to be "facts" and promptly negotiate peace. They were so sure of their supremacy that they apparently expected the United States as a friend of England to counsel her to give in.

The British did not believe it and we did not believe it. The course of the next few months showed that there was more to a world struggle and a world revolution than mere military mathematics.

We have seen the same thing happen in China. We are seeing it occur elsewhere. We have seen that the countries standing by their faith even though it meant temporary eclipse are today actually more alive and more vigorous than those which abandoned their faith and accepted the outlaw doctrine of exclusive force.

In the long run the universal faith which begins with the assumption that all men are brothers and which backs that up by sharing with them the conduct of affairs, invariably produces in every line of endeavor an ultimate superiority. This is the quality of democracy.

Because of this very conviction in the triumph of universal faith and any government based on it, it is well that we consult together to see what we can do to strengthen that faith and action. By definition faith must be a belief so strong that it requires men to act not merely in their own interest but in the interest of all of the brotherhood. Unless the will is strong enough to translate faith into life and action, the belief scarcely merits the dignity of the great word "faith".

Many people come to me in Washington, chiefly to ask a single question, "What can I do in this situation?" Commonly their desire is to offer their services to the Government. And I have always answered, "Look around. Everyone cannot go into the Army and the Navy nor can everyone enter the Government service. Is there anything you can do where you are?" For faith is a total conception. You defend it with armies if need be. You forward it by the conventional work of the state. But both these activities are only a mere fraction of the aggregate life of a nation.

As Americans we are a brotherhood, and we are proud to say that that brotherhood excludes no one. As a Nation we are proud that our friendship and our brotherhood are open to every country which meets us in like spirit. We do not have nations or nationalities as ene-

mies. We do struggle against lawlessness and against cruelty, against hatred and against oppression, against fear and slavery and want. So far as we can we must eliminate all of those qualities within the United States. If therefore anyone carries on the struggle against injustice or want or race hatred or selfishness in his own community he has joined in the struggle for the liberation of the world. Any element, however small, of strength that he can contribute adds to the strength of the Nation and to the strength of that free faith which alone will create a world in which we are willing to live.

As individuals the faith of a democracy demands that we recognize as brothers the people high and low with whom we have daily contact. If there is injustice, political or economic, within our circle our faith demands that we join in insisting that the wrong be righted. Do not think that this is a counsel of abstractions. We have watched the propaganda techniques of unfriendly countries. We have seen that they try first to create injustice where that can be done, and then to capitalize the result as a proof that this faith we profess is a meaningless thing.

It is at this point that we justifiably call in what used to be called "science" and what today we may call technique.

The techniques of modern life—our engineering, our chemistry, our medicine, and our military armaments; our industrial organization and our methods of supply—are tools only.

In and of themselves they do nothing. What they achieve is the desire of men's minds.

It so happens that in my academic work I have had much to do with what is called the "social sciences". It took a long time for modern economists to learn that economy is not merely the result of production and distribution but that it reflects the aggregate desires of men in respect of the world in which they wish to live. This was not an easy lesson. Yet the fact is that the world we live in is the world we want to live in; it is the product of our desires carried into execution by our rapidly widening techniques.

But these techniques are superb. On the physical side we now have in our hands the tools which can create any condition we really desire. If we want a population living in relative ease, we can have it. If we want a population physically feeble and interested only in minor luxuries, we can have that. In older times it used to be said that people got the kind of government they deserved. Today it can certainly be said of us that our people will live the kind of life, will create the kind of communities, and will build the kind of cities they truly wish.

America has at her command the power to defend the faith that is in her. She has the power to create a civilization unmatched in history, when the need of defense shall have passed. To you whose duty it is to strengthen her faith, we bid God-speed.

Cultural Relations

MUSIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

[Released to the press September 12]

On September 2, 1941 President Roosevelt approved the appointment of the Advisory Committee on Music to advise the Department of State through the Division of Cultural Relations regarding the stimulation of musical inter-

change among the American republics and the coordination of activities in this country which concern inter-American music.¹

¹ For advisory committees in other fields of cultural relations and their memberships, see the *Bulletin* of May 17, 1941, p. 603, and August 23, 1941, p. 154.

The personnel of the Committee, which is to serve jointly during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and for the Department of State, is as follows:

Warren D. Allen, Professor of Music, Stanford University, Stanford University, Calif.
 Marshall Bartholomew, Director, Yale University Glee Club, New Haven, Conn.
 John W. Beattie, Mus.D., Dean, School of Music, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 William Berrien, Ph.D., Adviser on Latin American Studies, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C.

Evans Clark, Executive Director, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, N. Y.

Aaron Copland, President, American Composers Alliance, New York, N. Y.

Earl V. Moore, Mus.D., Director, School of Music, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Russell V. Morgan, Mus.D., Director of Music, Cleveland Public Schools and Professor of Music, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Carleton Sprague Smith, Ph.D., Chief of Music Division, New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.

Davidson Taylor, Assistant to the Vice President, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, N. Y.

PHYSICIANS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS TO STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES

In cooperation with the Department of State and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has awarded fellowships to eight physicians from five American republics for special graduate study in the United States. These physicians from Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela will study at outstanding medical institutions in the United States.

The physicians who will receive fellowships and the institutions to which they have been assigned are as follows:

BRAZIL

Dr. Aurelio Monteiro, who graduated from the National School of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro, receiving honors in gynecology, is a member of the Society of Medicine and Surgery of Rio de Janeiro and of the Brazilian Society of Gynecology, and was also winner of the 1939 Gynecology Prize of the Society of Medicine and Surgery. Preparatory to becoming an assistant in the Department of Surgery of the National School of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Monteiro will study at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Dr. Rafael Arturo Batlle, who graduated from the National University of Santo Domingo in 1938, will study under Dr. Hugh Young at the Brady Urological Institute of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Upon his return to his own country, Dr. Batlle will head the Urological Service of the new hospital which the Government has opened at Ciudad Trujillo.

Dr. L. F. Thomen, who graduated from the University of Santo Domingo in 1936 and from Tulane University in 1938, will study in the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health in Baltimore and later will visit the State Health Departments of Virginia and Georgia.

MEXICO

Dr. Feliciano Palomino-Dena, who graduated from the Army Medical School in Mexico City, is a major in the Medical Corps of the Mexican Army and has been director of the Mexican Federal Hospital for Drug Addicts. He will study ophthalmology at Columbia University, New York City, or at the Eye and Ear Infirmary of Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

Dr. Rodolfo Vera-Barriguete, who graduated from the Army Medical School in Mexico City, is now studying at the Tuberculosis Division of the Health Departments of the District of Columbia and Baltimore. After completing his studies there, he will go to the Henry Phipps Institute in Philadelphia.

PARAGUAY

Dr. Raúl Peña, Director of Health and Chief of the National Health Laboratories of Paraguay, is studying and observing the activities of the District of Columbia Health Department and the Health Departments of the States of Virginia, Georgia, and New York. Later Dr. Peña will visit the Venereal Disease Clinic of the United States Public Health Service at Hot Springs, Ark., and will attend meetings of public-health societies.

VENEZUELA

Dr. R. A. Salas-Victoria, of the Venezuelan Ministry of Health, will study public-health subjects at the University of Michigan, including field work.

Dr. Francisco Scannone, graduate of the Central University of Venezuela, will study in the Venereal Disease Clinic of the United States Public Health Service at Baltimore and later probably will go to the Public Health Service Venereal Disease Clinic at Hot Springs, Ark. On his return to Venezuela, Dr. Scannone will be connected with the Division of Venereal Disease Control of his country.

The Department

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

Mr. William C. Burdett, a Foreign Service officer of class I, was designated to succeed Mr. J. Klahr Huddle as Director of the Foreign Service Officers' Training School, effective August 28, 1941 (Departmental Order 966).

Mr. John M. Begg was designated an Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, effective September 6, 1941 (Departmental Order 965).

The Foreign Service

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[Released to the press September 13]

The following changes have occurred in the American Foreign Service since September 6, 1941:

The assignment of Carol H. Foster, of Annapolis, Md., as Consul General at Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Foster has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

Lucien Memminger, of Charleston, S. C., who has been serving as Consul General at Copenhagen, Denmark, has been designated First Secretary of Legation at Pretoria, Union of South Africa.

Leslie E. Reed, of St. Paul, Minn., who has been serving as First Secretary of Legation and Consul General at Athens, Greece, has been

designated First Secretary of Legation and Consul General at San José, Costa Rica, and will serve in dual capacity.

Alfred W. Klieforth, of Boalsburg, Pa., who has been serving as Consul General at Cologne, Germany, has been assigned as Consul General at Winnipeg, Canada.

Harold B. Quarton, of Algona, Iowa, now serving in the Department of State, has been assigned as Consul General at Keijo, Chosen.

Thormod O. Klath, of Sioux City, Iowa, Commercial Attaché at Bern, Switzerland, has been designated Commercial Attaché at Stockholm, Sweden.

John M. Cabot, of Cambridge, Mass., Second Secretary of Legation at Guatemala, Guatemala, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

George Alexander Armstrong, of New York, N. Y., Consul at Málaga, Spain, has been assigned as Consul at Manchester, England.

Howard F. Withey, of Reed City, Mich., who has been serving as Consul at Trieste, Italy, has been assigned as Consul at Veracruz, Mexico.

Archer Woodford, of Paris, Ky., who has been serving as Consul at Hamburg, Germany, has been assigned as Consul at Calcutta, India.

Richard S. Huestis, of Ticonderoga, N. Y., who has been serving as Consul at Rotterdam, Netherlands, has been assigned as Consul at Cardiff, Wales.

Frederick W. Hinke, of Auburn, N. Y., Consul at Tientsin, China, has been assigned as Consul at Shanghai, China.

Roy E. B. Bower, of Alameda, Calif., who has been serving as Consul at Munich, Germany, has been assigned as Consul at Calcutta, India.

Charles E. Brookhart, of Washington, Iowa, Consul at London, England, has been assigned as Consul at Shanghai, China.

H. Gordon Minnigerode, of Washington, D. C., Vice Consul at Singapore, Straits Settlements, has been designated Third Secretary of Legation and Vice Consul at San José, Costa Rica, and will serve in dual capacity.

Hiram Bingham, Jr., of New Haven, Conn., now serving in the Department of State, has

been assigned as Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

James M. Gilchrist, Jr., of Chicago, Ill., now serving in the Department of State, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Halifax, Canada.

Hartwell Johnson, of Aiken, S. C., Third Secretary of Legation at Guatemala, Guatemala, has been designated Third Secretary of Embassy and Vice Consul at Lima, Peru, and will serve in dual capacity.

The assignment of Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., of Chicago, Ill., as Third Secretary of Embassy and Vice Consul at Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has been canceled. In lieu

thereof, Mr. Gleeck has been designated Third Secretary of Legation and Vice Consul at Helsinki, Finland, and will serve in dual capacity.

Herbert V. Olds, of Lynn, Mass., who has been serving as Vice Consul at Rotterdam, Netherlands, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Edmund A. Gullion, of Lexington, Ky., who has been serving as Vice Consul at Salonika, Greece, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Calcutta, India.

Boies C. Hart, Jr., of Mystic, Conn., Vice Consul at Shanghai, China, has been designated Third Secretary of Embassy at Nanking, China.

Treaty Information

Compiled in the Treaty Division

FINANCE

AGREEMENT WITH HAITI

[Released to the press September 13]

The Government of the Republic of Haiti announced at Port-au-Prince on September 13 the signature by the representatives of the Governments of the United States and of Haiti of an agreement defining the financial relations between the two countries. The purpose of the agreement is to modernize the fiscal machinery set up in 1915 while adequately safeguarding the interests of the holders of the 1922 and 1923 Haitian bonds. The offices of Fiscal Representative and Deputy Fiscal Representative are terminated.

The framework of the new agreement derives from the negotiations conducted last April by President Elie Lescot of Haiti, then President-elect, and the Under Secretary of State of the United States, Sumner Welles.¹ The text of the agreement was developed in the course of

conversations conducted in the Department during July with the Minister of Haiti to the United States, M. Fernand Dennis, and the Haitian Minister of Finance, M. Abel Lacroix.

Under the agreement the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti is charged with the supervision of the accounting and disbursing systems and the collection of customs and internal revenues in the Republic. The Bank becomes the sole depository of Government funds and the Haitian Minister of Finance undertakes to transfer to a representative of the holders the sums necessary for the service of the outstanding Haitian dollar bonds.

The Board of Directors of the reorganized Bank consists of six voting members, of whom three are citizens of Haiti and three are citizens of the United States. Decisions of the Board require a majority vote. The President of the Republic of Haiti appoints the Haitian members, while the United States members are chosen by agreement between the two Governments. In this connection there were exchanged simultaneously with the signature of

¹ *Bulletin* of May 10, 1941, p. 567.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1941

215

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the agreement notes signed by the Foreign Minister of Haiti and the American Minister to Haiti agreeing upon the three United States members.

Two co-presidents of the Bank are provided for in the agreement. One of these, the Haitian Minister of Finance, is ex officio the honorary president who shall preside at the meetings of the Board. The other co-president is one of the United States members of the Board who is designated to represent the holders of the 1922 and 1923 bonds and to coordinate and direct the functions and activities of the two vice presidents who are chosen by the Board. One of the vice presidents is charged with supervising and carrying out the commercial operations of the Bank, and the other with supervising and carrying out the fiscal functions of the Bank, under the immediate direction of the president responsible for such work.

The interest and amortization service of the 1922 and 1923 bonds constitute an irrevocable first lien upon the revenues of the Government of Haiti. The agreement specifies that until the amortization of the bonds has been completed, the public debt of the Republic of Haiti shall not be increased except by agreement between the two Governments. Furthermore it is provided that in the event that the total revenues of the Government should in any fiscal year exceed \$7,000,000, additional sums shall be applied to the sinking fund for the redemption of bonds.

By the exchange of notes the following United States members of the Board have been designated:

Mr. W. H. Williams, a resident of Port-au-Prince and the General Manager of the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti for a number of years; becomes one of the co-presidents.

Mr. Thomas Pearson, of Asheville, N. C., a member of the American commission to reorganize and administer the finances of Persia from 1922 to 1927, and from 1937 to 1941 Deputy General Receiver of Dominican Customs.

Mr. Edward F. Roosevelt, of New York, a representative for several years of American business firms in France, Belgium, and Spain; from 1937 to 1939 Commissioner to South America for the New York World's Fair, and in 1940 Director of Foreign Government Participation in the Fair.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION CONVENTION

Portugal—Portuguese Colonies

By a note dated September 4, 1941 the Spanish Ambassador at Washington informed the Secretary of State that on July 3, 1941 the instrument of ratification by Portugal of the International Telecommunication Convention signed at Madrid on December 9, 1932, was deposited with the Spanish Government. The ratification includes also the Portuguese Colonies.

By a second note dated September 4, 1941 the Spanish Ambassador informed the Secretary of State that the Embassy of Italy at Madrid in a note dated July 2, 1941 informed the Spanish Government of the adherence "of the independent state of the Kingdom of Croatia" to the International Telecommunication Convention signed at Madrid on December 9, 1932.

Regulations

Export Control Schedule No. 18 [determining, effective September 10, 1941, the forms, conversions, and derivatives of animal products, textile fibers and manufactures, wood and paper, nonmetallic minerals, non-ferrous metals, precious metals, as designated in Proclamation 2503; sole leather and belting leather (items 3 and 4, Proclamation 2460); and asbestos (item 2c, Proclamation 2413)]. August 20, 1941. (Administrator of Export Control.) 6 *Federal Register* 4684.

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